



## In Seeing Foreign Leaders

# Shah Adroitly Mixes Diplomacy With Oil

By James F. Clarity

TEHRAN, May 19 (UPI)—The Shah of Iran, who predicts that "the great civilization" he fosters here will gradually make Iran a major world power, has begun to press his strategy for making his country an increasingly dominant force in the Middle East and southern Asia.

Shah Mohammad Reza Pahlavi, with virtually authoritarian control of his country's political life, has been using standard diplomatic

or laced with promises of oil and other economic help in dealing with the visiting leaders of several less stable, poorer countries in the region.

During visits since the beginning of April by the leaders of Pakistan, India and Afghanistan, the Iranian monarchy sought to strengthen Iran's influence in the area stretching roughly from the eastern Mediterranean to the Indian Ocean.

The Shah sought to persuade the visitors that political calm in the area, and Iranian economic aid, could be secured by the adoption of public positions that did not dispute the tenets of Iranian foreign policy, including continuing Iranian hostility toward Iraq, growing Iranian military strength in the Persian Gulf and the Shah's acquiescence to American plans to increase U.S. naval power in the Indian Ocean.

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The visiting leaders, who still have unsolved and irritating problems with each other and with Iran, praised the Shah's government, minimized their disputes with him and left for home with promises of friendship and cooperation.

Other nations sending high-level delegations to Tehran include Turkey, Morocco, Egypt and Syria. The Turks, after years of telling Iranians they were more interested in trade with Europe, are seeking more Iranian exports through Turkish ports.

A Moroccan official recently left after receiving promises of increased trade and friendlier relations. In the next few days, Syria and Egypt, despite their strong ties with Iraq, will send cabinet ministers here.

Of Iran's neighbors, only Iraq remains outside the Shah's welcome. The most recent border clashes between the two countries were reported in early March—UN study of their differences is under way—and neither Iranian nor Iraqi officials here indicate that there is any hope for an early improvement of relations.

Iran's relations with the Soviet Union, to the north, have been

calculated at meetings at which he answered parishioners' questions. He had 10 of these meetings on Saturday nights this year. The main themes of his answers were that the Soviet state had deprived its citizens of belief in life after death, forcing them to "live for today," but that, nevertheless, a religious revival was under way in Russia.

He also openly discussed such taboo issues as state interference in the church hierarchy, the use of prison camps and psychiatric hospitals to punish believers and other dissidents, and the popular desire for Bibles and religious training.

In his letter to Patriarch Dumen, Father Dmitri said his meetings indicated that the ordinary form of preaching in Russian Orthodox Churches was too "abstract and inaccessible to contemporary man."

His new form of meetings, the priest said, seemed to be "understandable" to ordinary persons, and thus attracted widespread interest.

The audiences for Father Dmitri's meetings grew on each occasion, until more than 1,000 persons were crowded into his small church on May 4 for what was supposed to be the last session.

However, Father Dmitri announced that night that the patriarch had forbidden him to hold the meeting until he met personally with the patriarch.

In the letter he read last night, the priest revealed that he had not been able to see the patriarch, so he had written to him to arrange a meeting to discuss the enormous interest his sermon had evoked. He wanted to discuss it, he explained, because "I was in no position to satisfy all the requests of my questioners."

Father Dmitri was a priest in the church of St. Nicholas for nearly 15 years. During the Stalin era, he was sent to a prison camp. He is a friend of Alexander Solzhenitsyn, the author who was expelled from the Soviet Union in February.

## Mrs. Gandhi Visits

During the visits of the leaders from Pakistan, India and Afghanistan, oil and politics were neatly mixed. Indira Gandhi, who was the first Indian prime minister to come here in 15 years, agreed to a communiqué that seemed to the communiqué that seemed to be the most dovish in years.

The joint document, Mrs. Gandhi agreed that India understood Iran's problems with Iraq. India has close economic relations with Iraq, whose military pilots are trained by Indians.

During the talks here, India received promises that Iran would seriously consider increasing the supply of crude oil to the Indian refinery at Madras and financing its needed capital improvements. India already receives Iranian oil on relatively good terms. India promised to send teachers, technicians and doctors to Iran.

Prime Minister Zulfikar Ali Bhutto of Pakistan and the Shah reached an agreement that would give Pakistani Iranian oil on "special and friendly terms." The two also discussed the possibility of Iran's financing two cotton mills and a cement plant in Pakistan.

## Giscard d'Estaing Is Elected in Tight Race

(Continued from Page 1) immediately or in the early autumn. Such is the gerrymandering in favor of conservative rural voters that the left would have had to achieve a landslide to win an assembly majority.

Although Mr. Mitterrand's score was the best the left had managed since Charles de Gaulle came back to power in 1958, this was little comfort to the Socialist party.

### Somber Mood

In contrast to the exuberant gaiety at Mr. Giscard d'Estaing's Right Bank headquarters, the mood in Mr. Mitterrand's Left Bank skyscraper office was somber. Beyond the sadness was the fear that the failure could be of long duration, not only for the 57-year-old Mr. Mitterrand but for the once-moribund party he has rebuilt in the last five years.

Not only is it the presidential term seven years, but at 46, Mr. Giscard d'Estaing is quite capable of running for a second term with all the normal advantages enjoyed by incumbents.

Jacques Duclos, a veteran Communist leader, warned, however, that Mr. Giscard d'Estaing's triumph in fact was a "Pyrrhic victory" because the candidate had been forced to abandon every-

Associated Press  
Australian Prime Minister Gough Whitlam and wife in Sydney home after election.

## Soldiers in UN Mideast Force Recalled

# Irish Republic Starts Security Clampdown

DUBLIN, May 19 (AP)—The Irish government ordered a major security clampdown yesterday and set up new checkpoints along the border with Northern Ireland in the aftermath of Friday's terrorist bomb attacks.

At the same time, the government asked the United Nations to release 340 Irish soldiers from the Middle East peace-keeping force. The government said the soldiers will be needed to man the border checkpoints to stop and search all cars driving into the republic from the North.

In Cairo, a UN Emergency Force spokesman said Irish troops serving with the UNEF were to be repatriated from Tel Aviv on Wednesday. The Irish force manned a zone from the Mediterranean Sea in the north to a point 20 kilometers to the south in Sinai, spokesman Rudolf Stadlauer said today. All the men will leave except 40 who will look after equipment and small arms. They will be repatriated at a later date.

The checkpoints were part of an intensification of security along the 260-mile border with Northern Ireland, the main scene of the violence that spilled over into the republic Friday, killing 28 persons and wounding 150.

### No Warning Given

Three big car bombs exploded in the center of Dublin within minutes of each other at 5:30 pm when the district was packed with shoppers. The explosions occurred without warning, killing 23 persons, including several infants. Earlier reports had put the death toll in Dublin at 25. Another car bomb killed five persons in Monaghan, a border town.

The police believe at least eight persons were involved in the bombings. "We believe some of these men may still be trapped inside the republic," a police spokesman said.

At least three persons were being questioned as a result of the stringent security checks set up around the republic.

The authorities were reluctant to accuse any of the terrorist groups operating in Ireland, but they strongly suspected that Protestant extremists from Northern Ireland were behind the outrage. These extremists oppose any link with the republic.

### Tougher Laws Seen

Informants sources said the government was expected to press for tougher laws against Irish Republican Army guerrillas. The Roman Catholic-dominated underground movement, fighting to drive the British from Northern Ireland and unite the province with the republic, was not blamed for Friday's blasts, but many Irishmen believed it was the IRA's presence in the republic that provoked the bombings.

Irish newspapers urged harsher anti-terrorist measures. Dublin's Evening Herald declared in an editorial: "If new legislation should be required to defeat the killers, let it be enacted. If the

police believe at least eight persons were involved in the bombings. "We believe some of these men may still be trapped inside the republic," a police spokesman said.

Today's assault was the first by Israeli naval units against Palestinian camps in Lebanon since February, 1973, when gunboats bombed a Palestinian camp near Tyre, Lebanon's southernmost city. A Lebanese Defense Ministry communiqué said that one gunboat was hit by shore batteries.

Initial reports said that six civilians and two Palestinian guerrillas were killed, four civilians wounded and a number of dwellings were destroyed by the Israeli raid.

The camp's 12,000 inhabitants

make it the second largest Palestinian refugee camp in Lebanon. It is controlled by one of the most militant guerrilla groups, the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine.

The bombardment this afternoon lasted a little more than an hour, during which the Israeli aircraft overhead did not fire at the camp.

The Lebanese Defense Ministry said that all our heavy guns participated in firing on the raiders, which it said were from six miles offshore. "Smoke was seen pouring from one of the boats after it took a direct hit," the ministry said.

The attack from the sea followed two days of Israeli air raids on Lebanon in retaliation for the camp's 12,000 inhabitants

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## Clamp Contradicts Senate Testimony

# Nape Shows Mitchell Resigned Over Watergate

By David E. Rosenbaum

WASHINGTON, May 19 (NYT).—A transcript of President's June 30, 1973, conversation with John Mitchell and H. R. Haldeman shows that the three asked Mr. Mitchell to resign as the President's campaign director to the Watergate.

### Stands by Testimony

Mr. Mitchell said in his testimony before the Senate that his resignation was the subject of the June 30 conversation, but he had resigned solely because of family responsibilities.

Mr. Mitchell replied, "I had some long-range telephone and publicized threats from my wife, Martha, that if I didn't get out of politics, I was going to lose my marriage."

Sen. Ted Kennedy then asked, "It had nothing whatever to do with the Watergate matter?"

Mr. Mitchell answered, "None whatsoever."

According to the Judiciary Committee's transcript, the portion of the tape that the committee heard begins with Mr. Haldeman, former White House chief of staff, saying, "Well, there may be another fact." The longer you wait, the more risk each hour brings. You run the risk of more stuff, valid or invalid, surfacing on the Watergate cover type of thing."

Mr. Nixon agreed, saying, "Yes, that's the other thing. If something does come out, but we won't—we hope nothing will. It may not. But there is always the risk."

### Story Outlined

Then Mr. Nixon made it apparent that the matter under discussion was Mr. Mitchell's resignation and the President told Mr. Mitchell the "story" that would be used to announce the resignation.

"Well, I cut the loss fast," the President said: "I'd cut it fast. If we're going to do it, I'd cut it fast." Mr. Nixon went on to say:

"I think the story is, you're positive rather than negative, because as I said I was preparing to answer for this press conference, I just wrote it out, as I usually do, one way—terribly sensitive [unintelligible]. A hell of a lot of people will like that answer. They would. And it'd make anybody else who asked any question on it look like a selfish son of a bitch which thoroughly intended them to look like."

Mr. Nixon told Mr. Mitchell that "otherwise" the resignation "will be tied right to Watergate" and he assured Mr. Mitchell that the matter would be handled "in a way that Martha's not hurt."

Mr. Mitchell replied, "Yeah, OK."

William Hundley, Mr. Mitchell's attorney, was asked Friday about the discrepancy between the transcript and Mr. Mitchell's testimony. The lawyer responded, "We'll just stand on our sworn testimony."

## Ixon Cites Privilege to Barans Papers to Prosecutor

By Ben A. Franklin

WASHINGTON, May 19 (NYT).—Senate Nixon asserted the privilege of executive privilege Friday in an effort to a government subpoena for correspondence between himself and White House aides and Mr. Stans, who was his chief raiser in the 1972 campaign.

There were repeated indications, however, that U.S. District Judge George Hart Jr. might overrule the latest attempt to withdraw evidence from the office of special Watergate prosecutor, Jaworski.

Judge Hart said he would refuse the letters himself and then probably apply a decision by Judge John F. Hart that overruled such claims of privilege.

Letters from Mr. Jaworski's told Judge Hart that the Stans documents are, indeed, "official" papers subject to subpoena. Mr. McBride and Charles Ruff, Jaworski's staff prosecutors, questioned several witnesses, including Herbert Kalmbach, Mr. Nixon's former personal lawyer and a key fund raiser for him under Mr. Stans.

### Ean Illegal Fund

Kalmbach pleaded guilty in February to running an illegal congressional campaign fund in 1970 that secretly raised millions of dollars for the Republicans and of promising a European ambassadorship to another donor in return for a \$100,000 contribution. Kalmbach said Friday that he had "asked Mr. Stans for his assistance in seeing that the commitment [the ambassadorship] was met."

The government subpoena seeks Mr. Stans's telephone logs, appointment calendars, "ambassador lists" and other special-contributor lists recommending appointments to government posts, "political files" and a so-called "list" of noncontributors.

Although Mr. Stans's lawyers insisted that their client's files do not now contain such lists, Kalmbach testified that an "ambassador list" had been kept. He said he had had "numerous discussions" with Mr. Stans—"perhaps 300 meetings or phone calls"—on contributors whom Kalmbach described as "nominees for government posts."



MOVING OUT—A mother herds her children to safety during the Los Angeles shootout

## Six SLA Members Slain in Los Angeles

(Continued from Page 1)

charred ruins where the kitchen had been.

DeFreeze died of multiple gunshots wounds, Dr. Noguchi said, and added that there was a possibility that a head wound was self-inflicted.

Miss Perry and Miss Hill also died from bullet wounds, he said, but Miss Solysik and Wolfe died in the fire, of burns and smoke inhalation.

All of the defenders of the bungalow wore gas masks.

Still at large are the following members of the terrorist group who are believed to have been involved in the abduction of Miss Hearst: Emily and William Harriet and Thero Wheeler.

An all-point police bulletin was issued for a 1972 Chevrolet suspected of carrying four armed SLA members.

The small, clandestine group claimed responsibility for the slaying last winter of Marcus Foster, the Oakland superintendent of schools, and the kidnapping of Miss Hearst on Feb. 4 from her Berkeley apartment.

They exchanged heavy fire with the police for nearly an hour in what has been described by authorities as the greatest concentration of gunfire in the city's history.

The bodies of Miss Perry and Miss Atwood were found in the

area. Miss Hearst abruptly renounced her parents in another taped message and said that she had joined the ranks of her SLA "comrades" and refused to return to her family, whom she called "enemies of the enemy fascist state."

Her family refused to accept her statements of conversion and said they had been imposed on their daughter by her captors.

A revolver dropped by a man in a shopping incident on Thursday in Los Angeles—a mundane event until a woman companion raked the store with machine-gun fire—was traced to Miss Harris.

A police huntman obtained information as the fugitives apparently abandoned their principal hideout, which was raided earlier Friday. The gang was then apparently forced to seek refuge in black neighborhoods of Los Angeles, where the presence of white people is a rather uncommon event.

The biggest mistake these people ever made was coming to L.A.," a federal agent said, "because the police down here don't fool around."

The attack force was staggering, with more than 150 heavily armed Los Angeles city and county officers, many in flak jackets.

A command from a police bulletin asking for the occupants of the house to surrender was unanswered until a tear-gas canister was propelled through a window of the one-story dwelling. Then—and there seem to be conflicting reports about the sequence—automatic-weapons fire from the house swept the streets. A murderous exchange ensued. Blunt shotgun explosions interspersed with the stuttering bursts of automatic weapons.

As the cross-fire shredded the hideout, there was never a sign of surrender, only diminishing glimpses of muzzle flashes from a door or a shattered window.

## SLA Members Slain in Los Angeles

LOS ANGELES, May 19 (AP).—Six members of the radical communist group known as the People's Revolutionary Army were killed in a shootout with police here Saturday.

Police said the group, led by Donald DeFreeze, 23, and Nancy Ling Perry, 23, had been trying to kidnap Thomas Hearst, son of the slain San Francisco newspaper publisher, from his home in the hills above the city.

DeFreeze and Perry were captured Saturday morning. DeFreeze had been shot in the leg and was hospitalized. Dr. Thomas Noguchi, coroner, said that DeFreeze died of multiple gunshots in the head and neck, a common finding since the group closed its ranks.

DeFreeze was held in connection with the bank robbery.

• Patricia "Minion" Solysik, a white woman believed to be a co-leader of the SLA, died of burns and smoke inhalation.

• Angela Atwood, 23, white, a former Indianapolis student-teacher believed to be the "Gena" who spoke on a taped SLA communiqué to the Hearst family. She died of burns and smoke inhalation.

• William Wolfe, 23, white, son of a Pennsylvania anesthesiologist, who became a political activist while studying at the

## Authorities' Profiles of Five of the Six Dead

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## Portentous Irrelevancy

In the context of India's accumulating socio-economic problems, the explosion of a nuclear device in Rajasthan has all the irrelevancy of a firecracker let off in a panel discussion on food and poverty. But, considering the still urgent need in the world to limit the threat of nuclear war, the blast under the Indian desert is a portent, and an unhappy one.

These conclusions will stand up against the Indian claim that its interest in atomic power is confined to peaceful uses. India does need energy, and the atom is an obvious source. But is it necessary for India to go back to the raw beginnings, the dangerous beginnings, of the effort to unleash the atom at White Sands to find economically useful techniques? Explosions can shift the earth, and there can be some talk in New Delhi that they can be used for mining—but they can also level cities and disrupt ecologies. The experiment in Rajasthan serves no obvious Indian need, but it does set up shock waves that are being felt both close to and far from the subcontinent.

India never signed the 1968 treaty whereby the chief nuclear states promised not to supply non-nuclear states with nuclear weapons, and the latter agreed not to develop their own. The Indian objection was quite logical—the treaty would have imposed obligations on those countries without nuclear weapons that did not apply to those who had them. The concentration of nuclear military power in a few hands did not, in fact, mean global

hegemony by the big nuclear powers, since they constituted a standoff.

The limitations which the nature of nuclear weapons imposes on their principal possessors can be seen in the efforts, however tardy, the United States and the Soviet Union are making to limit their stockpiles. Even more dramatically, those limitations are evident in Secretary of State Henry Kissinger's patient efforts to talk Israel and Syria into a cease-fire. If nuclear blackmail by a superpower were practicable, surely it would have been applied here—or in Indochina, or in any of the tangled diplomatic and military situations in which the United States has been involved since Nagasaki.

There certainly is danger for the world in the possession of vast nuclear power by any state, or any number of states. But that threat is compounded by proliferation. The possibility of the seizure of the atomic button by some irresponsible person or group in Washington or Moscow has been explored and exploited in fiction and in sober treatises. The wider the spread of nuclear military technology, the greater the peril; Soviet and American leaders have repeatedly affirmed their recognition of responsibility—but states exist now whose interests are much less worldwide and whose political stability is far more precarious.

This is not to say that India itself will abuse the power it has just acquired. But the example is a bad one, the tensions it sets up and the possibilities it contains can bring no apparent good to India's millions, while creating new risks around the world.

## Authority in Bonn

West Germany's new Socialist chancellor, Helmut Schmidt, is the right man, in the right place, at the right time. The government he has formed in close negotiations with the Free Democrats augurs well for his prospects. No second step was possible until this essential first move had been made to reshape and preserve the political alliance that provides his Bundestag majority.

This first successful operation brings into view a lesser-known facet of the Schmidt personality, that of political negotiator. He shows a tough, prickly, energetic, even arrogant and somewhat nationalist exterior that can worry less confident Europeans. But beneath the surface, there are intellect, knowledge, a pragmatic ability to analyze partners and possibilities.

All this was needed in working out the necessary compromises that held the Brandt coalition together, moving the ambitious new Free Democratic leader, Hans-Dietrich Genscher—who speaks no foreign languages and knows little of foreign affairs—into the post of foreign minister to replace Walter Scheel, who is West Germany's new president. The departure of Egon Bahr, the architect of Bonn's Ostpolitik, is more related to the resignation of his mentor for two decades, Mr. Brandt, than to the partial shift of inter-

est to Westpolitik from Brandt's eastern construction, which is largely completed.

The major surprise is the promotion of youthful Hans Apel as finance minister. As state secretary for Common Market affairs in the Foreign Ministry and a Schmidt confidant, Mr. Apel in the past has talked tough in European community negotiations. But, despite the new chancellor's Atlanticist views, he knows that his chief challenge abroad is to make the European community move forward again. Mr. Apel's knowledge of the ways of the bureaucracy will be invaluable in this task.

Mr. Schmidt faces two dangers: His party's popularity has dropped sharply as a result of weak leadership, inflation, energy-related economic strains, a psychological malaise and radicalism among young Socialists. The dynamism that is his greatest appeal could trip him up.

But as the kind of authority figure to whom Germans traditionally rally, he was unchallenged in picking up the reins of party leadership Willy Brandt dropped. The question now is whether he can bring the country as a whole to respond in the same way.

—THE NEW YORK TIMES.

## Car Bomb Cowardice

After Maslalot the world needs no reminders of the mad horrors of political terrorism can produce. But few atrocities compare to the cowardly practice of planting time bombs in public places for indiscriminate killing of innocent passers-by.

The four car bombs that exploded during the commuter rush hour in downtown Dublin and the town of Monaghan Friday took more than twice as many lives as all previous acts of violence in the Irish Republic since the beginning of the Ulster troubles five years ago. And the human tragedy is compounded by the political circumstances.

The perpetrators are as yet unknown but, whether they were IRA or Protestant extremists, the objective was the same. Both extremes in this internecine struggle are opposed to the compromise solution accepted late last year by Catholic and Protestant

moderates in Belfast in an attempt to share power in Northern Ireland and end killing. Their coalition government put Catholics into the Ulster Executive for the first time in history, a settlement brought about with the mediation of the Irish as well as the British governments.

It is that act which has made Dublin the enemy of both extremes, though the IRA protests police suppression in the Irish Republic while the Protestants in the province bemoan Dublin for failing to close the border effectively to IRA infiltrators. Killings in Northern Ireland passed the 1,000 mark last month. Their continuation and their extension on a large scale to the republic, despite a political solution that deserves a serious trial, carries fanaticism to a despicable low.

—THE NEW YORK TIMES.

## International Opinion

### Maalot and Reprisal

Attempts by Palestinian and other Arab leaders to shift the guilt for the sordid crime against Israeli children at Maalot onto the Israelis themselves is not only shameful but mischievous. The only hope of averting an endless repetition of these inhuman acts is for all responsible leaders—and especially for those whose cause is injured by such acts—to combine in denouncing them and not to offer lame justifications.

Whatever might be said in criticism of the Israeli reprisal raids, especially when they involve the loss of even more innocent young lives, it is time for the Security Council to take notice of the failure of the Lebanese government to act firmly against the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine. This irresponsible and most extreme splinter group has boasted of its responsibility for the bloodbath at Maalot as well as for the recent brutal killings at Qiraat Shimon.

—From the Observer (London).

## In the International Edition

### Seventy-Five Years Ago

May 28, 1899

PARIS—The perfection which the United States signal service has attained in the Philippine campaign will certainly have great significance on the future of military operations in general. The commanding officer, General Ochs, is in perfect touch with all of his officers at the front by an involved and efficient system of telegraph wires, flags and sometimes even pigeons. The ramifications of improved communications will certainly be felt in civilian life as well.

### Fifty Years Ago

May 28, 1924

PARIS—ANNOUNCEMENT—The New York Herald Tribune today as the European Edition of the New York Herald Tribune. Though a change in ownership has taken place, the general policy of the newspaper will continue under the editorship of Mr. Laurence Hill. Americans now in Europe will have the opportunity of seeing a copy in Paris the same day as they appear in New York and we hope to insure our service to our readers.—Ogden R. Ettinger.



'There's Been a Lot of Silly Talk That Our Position Is Eroding.'

## Détente and the UN Charter

By Eugene V. Rostow

NEW HAVEN.—The administration has contended, as Prof. Marshall D. Shulman, director of the Russian Institute of Columbia University, sums up its position, that Sen. Henry M. Jackson's amendment to the Trade Reform Act requires the United States to choose "between morality with continued high tension and détente with trade." The United States faces no such choice.

Everyone who writes about Soviet-American relations seems to use a different definition of the talismanic word "détente." For Professor Shulman, "détente" is the beginning of a process through which the terms of Soviet competition with the United States are codified, particularly by reducing the danger of nuclear war, damping down the military elements in the continuing competition between the two countries, and encouraging restraints in other aspects of choice.

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If this is détente we have had it since 1945. But until now, we have called it "containment" and "cold war." The push and pull of Soviet-American military confrontations since the early postwar crises in Iran, Greece, Turkey and Berlin have indeed "codified" the limits of Soviet expansion beyond which the Russians came to understand that they faced unacceptable risks.

And every American president has earnestly sought to translate these conditioned cold war reflexes into a more positive and explicit political understanding, which could be the basis for secure and peaceful relations.

**Carrots and Sticks**

In that effort the United States has maintained a continuous dialogue with the Soviet Union, never interrupted even at moments of confrontation.

We have used both carrots and sticks: the offers of the Marshall Plan, and the wheat deal and other economic projects in 1972, on the one hand, and the delicate and not-so-diplomatic signals of crisis management on the other.

The long cycle of nuclear con-

frontations and negotiations is one theme in the symphony, linked to summit meetings at Geneva, Camp David, Glasboro and Moscow. So is the pattern of crunch through which the Russians have periodically tested our willingness to defend our interests.

It is an abuse of language to define détente as anything less than a clear agreement for peaceful co-existence in the American, not the Soviet sense—an agreement that is, committing the Soviet Union to obey the rules of the United Nations Charter with respect to the use or the threat of force in international relations, and to carry out its other international obligations.

The charter is not a suicide pact.

There can be no détente until there is reciprocal respect for its basic rules of public order.

Clearly, President Nixon

thought he had achieved an

agreement of this character in his ill-fated Declaration of Basic Principles on relations between the United States and the Soviet Union, signed in Moscow on May 22, 1972.

That document makes melan-

chole reading today. In it, the

two nations say they "will pro-

ceed from the common determina-

tion that in the nuclear age

there is no alternative to con-

ducting their mutual relations on

the basis of peaceful co-exis-

tence." Therefore, they agree

that they "will cooperate to

prevent the development of situa-

tions that could strain their rela-

tionship in Indochina. The contention recalls Lenin's comment that "when the time comes to hang the capitalist regimes, they will compete with each other to sell us the rope."

Eugene V. Rostow, Under Secretary of State from 1966-69, is Sterling Professor of Law at Yale. He wrote this article for The New York Times.

### Action, Promises

There is no way in which the recent pattern of Soviet development and action can be reconciled with these promises. In the Far East, the Soviet Union does not even pretend that it is carrying out its obligations under the Indochinese accords of 1962 and 1973. Instead, its diplomats say that the accords will be carried out "as soon as possible."

These agreements require the Soviet Union to get the North Vietnamese out of Laos and Cambodia, and to have them refrain from interfering in the internal affairs of South Vietnam.

Instead of fulfilling these

agreements with us, the Soviet Union is giving full support to

North Vietnam in its active cam-

paign against all three countries.

And in the Middle East, far from

cooperating with us, before or

after May 29, 1972, to bring about

a peaceful settlement of the con-

flict in accordance with the Securi-

ty Council resolution, the Russi-

ans have helped decisively to pre-

pare a peaceable settlement in the

Midwest, in the Far West and in

Florida, and suffer the rebuke of

the leader of the Republican

forces in the House of Represen-

tatives and in the Senate. The

intense speculation on Friday a

week ago that Mr. Nixon was

about to resign prompted him to

take measures very nearly de-

perate in character: he dispatched

his own daughter to look the

press in the face and say to them

that they could take it from her,

that her father did not intend to

quit the mandate of that resolution.

They exploited Arab hostil-

ity to the existence of Israel as

the detonator of a war that was

intended to achieve irreversible

change in the area and in the

relations of the United States to

Western Europe. Despite the set-

back their plan suffered in October,

the Russians persevere. As

recently as March 12, they were

urging the Arabs to continue their oil embargo against the

United States and the Nether-

lands.

President Nixon, suffocating in

the coils of Watergate, keeps tell-

ing us that he has replaced the

old "containment" with a new

"détente." He has substituted

the word "détente" for "con-

frontation," and he has substi-

tuted "negotiations" for "military

action." He has substituted

"diplomacy" for "military

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## Obituaries

## Dan Topping, 61, a Co-Owner of N.Y. Yankees for 20 Years

**YANKEES** Dan Topping, 61, co-owner of the New York Yankees, died May 19 (AP). He was still in power of the club's years as baseball's most successful team, died in the early night at the Miami Heart Hospital.

Topping controlled the

Yankees with Del Webb for 20 years, from 1945 until 1964, when they sold 80 percent of their interest to the Columbia Broadcasting System. During Mr. Topping's time as the club's co-owner, the Yankees won 15 American League pennants and 10 World Series.

Mr. Topping, Mr. Webb and Larry MacPhail purchased the Yankees from the estate of Col. Jacob Ruppert, the club's long-time owner. The price was \$2.8 million with Mr. MacPhail installed as president and general manager.

After the 1947 season, Mr. Webb and Mr. Topping bought out Mr. MacPhail with Mr. Topping becoming mid-president and George Weiss general manager. In 1949, Casey Stengel was brought in to manage the team, signaling the start of one of baseball's most successful dynasties.

The partners sold all but 20 percent of their interest to CBS, in 1964 receiving \$12 million for the team. Mr. Webb sold his 10 percent interest in 1965, and Mr. Topping sold his 10 percent in 1966. Each got \$1 million.

Mr. Topping had extensive land and stock holdings and lived on a yacht off Miami Beach. He was married five times with four of those marriages ending in divorce. His wives included ice-skating champion Sonja Henie and actress Arlene Judge.

Mr. Topping suffered from emphysema during his later years.

## Lu Han

**HONG KONG** May 19 (Reuters)—Lu Han, 79, a former Nationalist Chinese general who went over with his troops to the Chinese Communists, died in Peking last Monday, the Chinese news agency reported today.

It said that a memorial service for Gen. Lu, who defected from Gen. Chiang Kai-shek's forces in December, 1949, was held at Peking's Babaoshan Cemetery for Revolutionaries yesterday.

## Durga Das

**NEW DELHI** May 19 (Reuters)—Durga Das, 73, former chief editor of the Hindustan Times, died here Friday of a heart attack.

In recent years, Mr. Das wrote a column for the Indian News and Feature Alliance, which he founded in 1960, and was editor-in-chief of a biweekly magazine, the States.

## Martin Etchegoyen

**MONTVIDEO** Uruguay, May 19 (Reuters)—Uruguay's Vice-President Martin Etchegoyen, 53, died here yesterday, informed sources said.

**A Crowd Detains Paris Diplomats In China Incident**

**PEKING** May 19 (Reuters)—Seven French diplomats were surrounded by a hostile crowd and held for four hours today after one went strolling "out of bounds" near the Ming Dynasty tombs northeast of Peking.

The incident occurred during a picnic in the mountain-encircled valley—one of the few places outside the capital open to foreign residents.

One of the diplomats, a woman newly arrived in Peking, left the picnic site for a stroll in the countryside. She was surrounded by a crowd consisting mainly of young children, who refused to let her go.

Six fellow-diplomats who came to help were also held by the crowd, which they later described as "hostile." All seven were detained for two hours until public security personnel arrived.

When asked why they had left the tomb area and walked into open countryside, the diplomats said there were no signs forbidding it. They also explained that the woman had only been in Peking three days and did not know it was prohibited.

A security official answered, "You should have known," a diplomat said later.

**Skyscraper Radio Mast**

**WARSAW** May 19 (AP)—Poland yesterday completed the construction of a radio and television mast 648 meters (2,120 feet) high, and claimed it was the tallest structure in the world. The mast, in the village of Konstantynow, 40 miles west of Warsaw, is supported by a net of steel wire stays.



FAMILY REUNION—Freed in Turkish general amnesty on Saturday, Briton Timothy Davey, 16, is welcomed by brothers and sisters following release in Izmir. He was sentenced to six years for selling marijuana in 1971.

### Turkish Coalition Splits on Terms Of Amnesty on Political Prisoners

**ANKARA, Turkey**, May 19

The uneasy alliance between Premier Eylem Ecivit's party and the pro-Islamic National Salvation party founded Wednesday when a score of NSP members voted against the government over an article in a amnesty bill providing for the release of political prisoners.

The decision to withdraw followed four hours of debate within the party executive and the parliamentary group, the second such meeting in two days.

Mr. Ecivit had made freedom of political expression a matter of principle over which he was determined to have his way or resign.

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## The Gaullist Legacy to France

By Don Cook

**PARIS.**—There has always been a kind of "son et lumiere" quality about Gaullism, even when the production was at its height and Charles de Gaulle himself was alive and directing.

Sound and lights were dazzlingly arranged to evoke the power and glory of France—resounding declarations, diplomatic shock tactics, splendid isolation, spectacular journeys, warm embraces, brutal snubs, high principles and low blows. But now it has finally faded. As the French elected a president yesterday, Gaullism was a spent force.

There are, of course, plenty of Gaullists still around, some of them quite important, and there are 123 members of the National Assembly who were elected under the Gaullist banner in 1973. But Gaullist domination of French politics is finished, and the French themselves are left wondering what the reality of Gaullism really was. Was it all slogans and pronouncements? What has France inherited from those heady years? What Gaullist principles and precepts will still prevail in French policy?

"All my life," Gen. de Gaulle wrote in the famous opening passage of his war memoirs, "I have thought of France in a certain way . . . as chosen for an exalted and exceptional destiny . . . only vast enterprises are capable of counterbalancing the ferments of disintegration inherent in her people. In short, to my mind, France cannot be France without greatness . . ."

And the general departed after having frequently commented that he would have no successor. He himself apparently preferred that Gaullism would stand out by itself as a brief period of greatness in French history with chains preceding it and mediocrities following it.

Gaullism was, indeed, about 80 percent style and 20 percent content and reality. The general had plenty of style, and was a past master at elevating trivial into political principle.

There was the occasion in 1962 when he sent the *Mona Lisa* to New York for exhibition at the Metropolitan Museum of Art. But



at the same time he was feuding with the United Nations over its decision to send a peacekeeping force to the Congo, and he instructed Ambassador Hervé Alphand in Washington to decline a dinner party invitation from Mayor John Lindsay in New York to mark the *Mona Lisa* showing because UN Secretary-General U Thant had also been invited.

Mr. Thant gracefully withdrew with a diplomatic illness, and Mr. Alphand attended in triumph at this demonstration of France's "greatness" in humiliating the past master.

Nobody could succeed the gen-

eral in this kind of "Gaullism."

The trouble which everybody immediately had when he departed from the scene was deciding what Gaullism really was.

Georges Pompidou, a pragmatic man, paid lip service constantly to the principles of Gen. de Gaulle but he paved the way for Britain to enter the European Common Market, stopped interference in Quebec, called off doctrinaire attacks on the United States, devalued the French franc, eased up on relations with NATO, and stayed cool and cooperative in the long and frustrating American search for a way out of Viet-

nam. Was this Gaullism in action or was it not?

The very fact that the Gaullist political party, the Union of Democrats for the Fifth Republic, turned into such a defeated and squabbling group so soon after Mr. Pompidou's death is ample demonstration that there is not and never had been any such thing as true Gaullism except in the person and presence of the general himself. Today, Gaullism is nothing but the reflexes, reactions and rhetoric of those who claim to be its inheritors and interpreters, and they are all different.

Nevertheless, the Gaullist Fifth Republic has already lasted four years longer than the Fourth Republic, which expired in 1959 after barely 13 years of constitutional existence. Certain realities must, therefore, stand out from all the rhetoric.

First of all, France is politically and economically stable and strong—and this is a true Gaullist inheritance. There are problems and there are troubles ahead, but there is a framework of stability and government which works.

Secondly, French politicians of all shades, from the left to the extreme right, all rally and salute that magic Gaullist word "independence."

It is a simple fact of life that Gen. de Gaulle succeeded in reactivating the force and idealism of the word "independence" in France to a point where the simplest act of common-sense cooperation can instantly be elevated into a matter of high principle. To cooperate with anybody is to sacrifice independence. Hence every invitation or overture to France is automatically examined in this light, and advantages for France gauged by this fundamental approach.

In short, it is perfectly possible and always has been for France to have an independent policy, a Gaullist policy, but still accommodate itself and play an effective and influential role. As a nation, it is far stronger in real economic terms today than it was in De Gaulle's time. And, hopefully, it will be a little bit more serene in the future as well.

(© Los Angeles Times)

### Atlantic Alliance Views

## What Two Triangles Mean to Today's World

By Robert A. Scalapino

**BERKELEY, Calif.**—Two triangular relations are of special importance to the world today. One is the United States-Soviet Union-China relation, vital with respect to war and peace issues of nuclear weapon control, disarmament, and peaceful coexistence. The other is the United States-West Europe-Japan relation, critical to prosperity and development issues, monetary, trade and investment policies, as well as to the thorny problem of relations between the "advanced" and "emerging" societies.

But both of these three-way relationships pose the most complex difficulties. Communications among the major actors remain limited and strained. Basic policy agreement is exceedingly elusive, why?

In the U.S.-West European-Japanese triangle, recent history and contemporary trends have interacted to produce several major contradictions. On the one hand, in the aftermath of World War II, remarkable political unity and economic development were achieved in the West and Japan as a result of three factors: desperate needs, a discerned threat and American largesse.

Organic unity, to be sure, was not achieved, nor sought. Relations between West Europe and Japan, indeed, remained quite minimal with the United States the key link in the overlapping alliance. Nonetheless, basic political and economic trends within the "advanced world" appeared to be relatively uniform.

Today, diversity competes with unity. Nationalism has re-emerged as a vital, possibly dominant force within the so-called advanced world, both in the economic and in the political arena. Contrary to common assumption, moreover, important differences exist in the economic structures of the major industrial societies. Thus, the trends may be running as strongly toward economic, as toward political, multipolarism.

Few would deny that parliamentary democracy faces its most serious crisis since World War II. A combination of economic and social problems threatens to overwhelm a system that has always been recognized as fragile by careful observers.

### Challenges to Authority

Contrary to the Marxist opinion, most of these problems are not the product of economic stagnation or political repression. On the contrary, they are the result of unprecedented economic growth and new levels of political freedom. It remains true, however, that the current trend is running strongly in the direction of political instability throughout the democratic world. A few months ago, public opinion polls revealed that scarcely a single political leader of the major democratic societies, including

deep involvement with the "advanced" industrial world, and its economic political interests in Asia will probably grow rather than decline in the years immediately ahead.

Meanwhile, the belated European discovery of Japan has been accompanied by strong apprehension. The specter of a yodaw industrial peril, justified or not, supports protectionist instincts and restrained contacts. For its part, Japan feels a certain discomfiture in swimming alone in a foreign, blue-sea—the only non-Western member of an advanced industrial club whose mores and rules remain qualitatively apart.

For these reasons, among others, bilateral relations between the United States and Japan as well as between the United States and West Europe will continue to be truly important.

In the economic as in the political sphere, continental tendencies are as now. Contrary to the common impression, the advanced industrial societies are not at the same stage of development at this point. The United States is moving into a place in which corporate industries are rapidly increasing in importance at the expense of manufacturing industries.

Japan on the other hand, has the problem of great raw material and energy dependence at a time when hopes continue to rest upon heavy industrial and chemical exports.

Western Europe is closer to Japan on the question of the additional complex problem of seeking to advance economic integration via the Common Market in such a manner as to cope with a concurrent political integration on the one hand, and to take account of American and Japanese needs on the other.

### Autocracy Pressures

Given the political and economic forces outlined above, the pressures on behalf of autocracy become more intense. Indeed, certain experts believe that the most realistic prospect for the immediate future is a race to avoid economic regionalism with the United States. West Europe and Japan can become powerful centers of economic interaction in their own right.

In considerable part, this trend has been under way for some time. Economic and political multiplicities have forced their limits—not in the sense and as realism. In the political realm, the dominant international trend remains an unequal-power politics, as even British and Chinese histories illustrate. In this regard, moreover, there are still only two superpowers left in the geometry of their absolute or available power. Thus, the effort of some Western statesmen to move Japan solidly into "the Atlantic community" can never succeed.

Japan will always remain partly an Asian society despite its

separate (and much weaker) states or should a greater degree of political-military integration within Europe be sought? And should West Europe continue to lean to one side, preserving its alliance with the United States, or should it move toward "neutralism" on the assumption that ideological-institutional differences and the factor of proximity marking off the Soviet Union and the United States have lost their significance for Europe?

Japan has somewhat different, yet similar alternatives: whether to practice self-sufficiency in political and military matters or even to re-emerge as a political-military power in Asia; continue to rely upon the United States in defense matters; or seek a neutralist stance.

It is possible that the continuing weaknesses of the opposition, and divisiveness in their ranks, will prolong the status quo. At no time in the post-1945 period, however, have Japanese politics seemed less predictable.

Meanwhile, as is now commonly recognized, the United States faces the gravest problems of internal unity in decades, problems fed by the most bitter administrative-media battle in the memory of American citizens.

Under these circumstances, a drift away from international concerns by the population is natural. The vital issues lie close to home—connected with the great changes in life-style which the industrial revolution in its climactic stages is producing. Uncertainty and disillusionment with politics have also led to widespread apathy. Hence, the mood at the grass-roots is toward narrowness, not breadth.

At present, popular sentiment in the major democratic states does not support international cooperation, let alone innovation. Rather, the current mood is one of neo-isolationism in the United States, neo-nationalism in Europe and Japan, and protectionism everywhere.

And, in the absence of dynamic popular leadership, there is no new vision or symbolism to counteract these trends. There is, thus, the danger that even if our political leaders achieve certain technical solutions to current international problems, these solutions will be forced to struggle for survival in a hostile political atmosphere.

Special cultural and political circumstances also pose obstacles. Japan, like Britain, is an island nation lying off a vast continent and the great historic issue for the two nations has been similarly close cooperation with, or separation from, that continent? The answer to this question can never be absolute—or permanent. Thus, the effort of some Western statesmen to move Japan solidly into "the Atlantic community" can never succeed.

Japan will always remain partly an Asian society despite its

"This is what I mean by the excesses. The Sharon Tate-Charles Manson case comes to mind. That was an incredibly interesting story for us. But in a short time there were other massacres, big killings. On a European newspaper you wind up equating a lot of things that happen in the United States with things that happen in Pakistan—it's a kind of 'so what' reaction."

## Everything's Up to Date in Schnitzel City —It Too Doesn't Love the U.S. Any More

By John Vinocur

**FRANKFURT (AP).**—The Big Schnitzel, the GIs call Frankfurt. It is: Fat banks sitting on reinforced concrete laundries, trees greening with spring and immediately graying with dust from roadway digging, bars like the Florida Boy one door down from Dr. Muller's orange-fronted sex department store, hookers camping on the corners.

Dirt, crassness, money badly spent, noise—some Germans say the city is a ruthless caricature of what Europeans find worst in the United States.

First of all, France is politically and economically stable and strong—and this is a true Gaullist inheritance. There are problems and there are troubles ahead, but there is a framework of stability and government which works.

Secondly, French politicians of all shades, from the left to the extreme right, all rally and salute that magic Gaullist word "independence."

It is a simple fact of life that Gen. de Gaulle succeeded in reactivating the force and idealism of the word "independence" in France to a point where the simplest act of common-sense cooperation can instantly be elevated into a matter of high principle. To cooperate with anybody is to sacrifice independence. Hence every invitation or overture to France is automatically examined in this light, and advantages for France gauged by this fundamental approach.

In short, it is perfectly possible and always has been for France to have an independent policy, a Gaullist policy, but still accommodate itself and play an effective and influential role. As a nation, it is far stronger in real economic terms today than it was in De Gaulle's time. And, hopefully, it will be a little bit more serene in the future as well.

At night, the two national networks are down to two new U.S. serials a week. An official of the ZDF color network explained, "Everybody still enjoys a Western, but most other things don't reflect our life or aspirations."

In the same color network's headquarters in Wiesbaden, two secretarial jobs were offered simultaneously to the house staff. One was in Rome, the other in the network's Washington office at higher pay and benefits. There were 34 applications for the Rome job and two for the post in Washington.

• David Rosenthal, a director of Merrill Lynch in Paris, told a friend at lunch, "In most of the American offices here had to go to their French executive or middle management asking

their totals, the number of Frenchmen, Italians, Germans and Britons emigrating to the United States in 1973 decreased.

In France, for example, over the four-year period from 1969 to 1973, the number of emigrants fell by 25 percent, from about 2,000 to 1,500 annually.

• In Germany, the decrease was from 8,700 to 5,700, and in Italy from 25,500 to 21,000.

With Europe wealthier and the dollar weaker, more tourists and businessmen felt that traveling to the United States came within their reach. In France, the number of non-immigrant U.S. visas issued rose from 33,000 in 1964 to 105,000 in 1973. At the same time, however, the rise in student visas, a gauge of young people's interest and respect for a country,

• "You can't blow a European's mind any more by showing him a wall oven."

• "It may be that a lot of people no longer need the kind of escape that American films gave them."

• "It was blind love, and when you fall out of love, everything seems wrong with the person. It's a bit like that."

Les Variations or Nektar, an U.S. record company, are interested in them.

Wolfram Henze, a Munich businessman and Bundeswehr service officer, feels much of the admiration Germans had for U.S. United States is gone.

America in the 1940s and 1950s was considered a country where everything functioned, "a clean democracy," he said. To a European sick of its own failures, seemed stable, creative. The came the assassinations—Kennedy and Martin Luther King—the race riots, the Vietnam War, My Lai, the weakening of the dollar and now Watergate.

"It was blind love," Mr. Henze said, "and when you fall out of love, everything seems wrong with the person. It's a bit like that."

### Flagging Interest

Benoit Raskin, the young foreign editor of *France-Soir*, the largest selling French evening newspaper, finds less interest in America, especially in what he calls "your excesses."

Not long ago, Mr. Raskin said, the newspaper usually sent a man to the United States a couple of times a year just to drive around talk to steelworkers, blacks, emigrants and come back to write a series.

"Well, we've stopped that," he said. "The series always seemed to come out the same, the truth was you'd have a much harder time throwing a headline like 'Fascinating America' on them. French people's interest in the biggest, the tallest, the richest is faded, I think."

"This is what I mean by the excesses." The Sharon Tate-Charles Manson case comes to mind. That was an incredible interesting story for us. But a short time there were other massacres, big killings. On European newspaper you win up equating a lot of things that happen in the United States with things that happen in Pakistan—it's a kind of 'so what' reaction."

"All these people waiting a line for gas this winter, for example. Some years ago the would have been a big story in America. Perhaps we'd run one picture now. I imagine the reaction of a lot of our readers would be, 'If they didn't build stupid big cars, they wouldn't be in half as much trouble.' A of the old envy is gone."

### Pop Music

Even in pop music, the old alliances have faded. For years, with the exception of the English, Continental pop groups were content to rip off the Americans in the local language. Frenchmen borrowed American names—Johnny Hallyday, Eddie Mitchell, Dick Rivers—to sell more records. Now the groups are Mocedades,

try, went up only fractionally.

During the first half of 1974, there were 300 French applications for student visas to the United States. By 1973, they had increased to only 304.

In Paris, where U.S. entertainers and gangster movies are dissected by eager critics, attendance at American films dropped 25 percent in 1973, despite "The Godfather," a world box office money spinner. Foreign movie attendance declined in general, but the American drop was startling because attendance at French films improved.

It is not just Frankfurt, scientifically and occasionally contradictory, subjective evidence argues that an increasing number of Europeans consider America less and less a model or marvel:

• In West Germany, after a generation of television viewing centered on *Hoss Cartwright* of "Bonanza" and other canned American shows, sometimes two

for a man to move to the States, they'd find people hiding under their desks. Ten, 15 years ago, they would have lined up outside the door. You can't blow a European's mind any more by showing him a wall oven."

In Britain, where U.S. professionals are emigrating for better salaries and working conditions leveled off about three years ago and, according to a U.S. immigration Service official, is just about a thing of the past."

• Immigration figures attest to a drying-up of interest. While Canada, New Zealand and Australia have generally increased

security system because it felt that most of its customers were honest and would resent electronic surveillance.

Color television is slated to Tehran next year. So is a new plant that will produce Winston cigarettes under an agreement with American producers. Tehran residents are said to prefer Winstons and can tell the difference when they smoke an ersatz American cigarette.

Warnings about health hazards and smoking are not printed on cigarette packages here, but there is some acknowledgment that the habit may be harmful. This week an 11-year-old boy, Joud Akhlaq

# Rumble of Autonomy Grow in Swiss Jura as Vote Nears: 'Oui' or 'Nein'

Fate-Chucky  
interesting  
it happened  
Switzerland  
Mont  
and brothers to limit the  
of foreign workers is  
only issue disturbing  
quiet waters of  
politics.  
are Jura-fighters in the  
part of the canton of Bern, where

northern part of the country who enjoyed the quasi-independence enjoyed by Swiss cantons for their picturesque region of wooded mountains, gorges and high grazing lands.

After 25 years of proclamations and pressure—and a few acts of terrorism—they are being permitted to vote on their future. At the moment, the Jura forms

the French-speaking Jurassiens are outnumbered seven to one by German-speakers.

This weekend, thousands of these mountain folk poured into Porrentruy, the ancient capital of Jura, for a special congress of their movement, the Rasssemblement Jurassien, called to decide whether to boycott the autonomy referendum on June 23 or to vote "oui."

Why the doubt? Under Switzerland's complicated system of referendum decision-making, the German-speaking Jurassien districts, which will almost certainly vote against autonomy on June 23, will be allowed a second vote, enabling them to choose to stay with their Bernese German cousins and so split the Jura in half.

The two-day Jurassien rally opened with a concert by the

French folk singer Hugue, Arp, a supporter of minority movements. Then 5,000 young Jurassiens marched through the town in a long colonial cortège to Porrentruy's main hall. The Jurassien delegates voted 504 to 1 to back autonomy even if it makes a divided Jura.

However, the majority of the autonomists feel that the long struggle for self-government which has its historical roots in the decision of the Congress of Vienna in 1815 to attach the old Jura principality to Bern, dictates that Jurassien grab what

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There is also heavy pressure on the "Germans" to abstain from voting.

But another local politician, Dr. Paul Gehler, favors continued integration with Bern and stated:

"We pay 40 million Swiss francs—\$13.8 million—in taxes and receive \$6 million in return while Bern is in its kindness, also gives us 30 percent of the budget for roads instead of the 14 percent due to us. When you are well treated, you don't lack your donor in the backside."

The Jura question became a matter of the reputation of Switzerland around the world, said Roland Bichenné, a Delémont economist, who edits the fiery newspaper "Le Jura Libre."

The Bern cantonal authorities gave way to pressure and agreed to a referendum the sole question of which will be, "Do you want a Jura?" Switzerland has regular referendums on a range of subjects from emigration to the building of a casino. The creation of the last canton was in 1833.

The present vote is complicated by the steady influx of German-speakers into the region. The southern Mr. Beguelin has sought to have these Swiss Germans barred from voting. They will not vote "non" but "nein," he says.

It's going to be a short, very sharp campaign before June 23. On one side is yet another European minority revolting against what it considers excessive centralized control. On the other are those who feel like Dr. Gehler, that "it is crazy to set up a mini-state," a sort of Liechtenstein at the other end of Switzerland.

The political debate is heating up in the taverns. The *montagnards* fear the loss of southern Jura where the German-speakers may tip the balance. Editor Beguelin advises the Jurassiens to accept even a limited canton and constantly draws a comparison with the Israelis.

"They got a state on territory with impossible borders. Then they broke out from the corset."

Thus the political debate is heating up in the taverns. The *montagnards* fear the loss of southern Jura where the German-speakers may tip the balance. Editor Beguelin advises the Jurassiens to accept even a limited canton and constantly draws a comparison with the Israelis.

It was language dispute (the refusal of the German-dominated canton government to allow a Jurassien to have the public works portfolio because of his language) which led to the creation of the Rasssemblement Jurassien in 1947.

Since then, the Jurassiens say, low after law has been forced down their throats by the Bernese "Germans." They sought to have voting on June 23 restricted to Euro-generation Jurassiens. In fact, three months' residence will suffice. They have tried unsuccessfully to get the vote for 60,000 overseas Jurassiens.

## Private Interests vs. the Public Interest

### THE BOYS ON THE BUS

*Riding With the Campaign Press Corps.*

By Timothy Crouse.

Random House.

377 pp., \$7.95.

thing that happened—that happened in public, I mean."

In case his readers are slow to understand that Mr. Mears has just been praised for simply being able to do his job, Mr. Crouse tells of the scene in the pressroom during a debate between Sen. McGovern and Sen. Hubert Humphrey during the California primary, while both were seeking the Democratic nomination.

"Two other reporters," Mr. Crouse writes, "one from New York, another from Chicago, headed toward Mears shouting, 'Lead! Lead!' A Boston reporter came at him from another direction. 'Walter, Walter, what's our lead?' he said."

In other nonjournalistic words, the reporters were asking Mr. Mears to tell them what they had just heard.

### Many Examples

Alas, there are many examples of such bumbling. Mr. Crouse reports that in the last weeks of the campaign, just before Mr. Nixon was to win with 60.83 percent of the vote, two New York Times reporters were betting that Sen. McGovern would come within five and two points, respectively, of Mr. Nixon. There's more of this. On the Sunday before the election, when *The Times* said on its front page that Sen. McGovern had a chance to win only two states, Massachusetts and Wisconsin, the entire McGovern press corps attempted to bet the writer of the article that Sen. McGovern would win more than that. He won only Massachusetts among the states.

The second indictment—although the book is so generally genial that this may be too harsh a word—levelled by Mr. Crouse against the press corps is its physical exhaustion. He makes this point early and often, too, starting with an account of the phone call at 6:45 a.m. that awakens each reporter at a hotel in Los Angeles. "It was lonely on these early mornings," Mr. Crouse notes, "and often excruciatingly painful to tear oneself away from a brief, sodden spell of sleep."

Mr. Crouse then describes the way the reporters are herded—there is no other word—out of the hotel and into a bus out of the bus for a breakfast appearance by the candidate, back into the bus, back off the bus for a television taping, back into the bus, back off the bus for a luncheon and a dash for telephones and Telexes, back into the bus for an afternoon identical to the morning. And a tomorrow identical to today.

This routine, Mr. Crouse points out, establishes a herd instinct, the same instinct that drives cattle into a stampede. He describes James Doyle of the *Washington Star* in a mood of doubt: "... Dead tired from a week on the road late in the campaign that runs from February until November. Later that night there would be a McGovern telethon and Democratic party dinner to cover..."

Mercifully, Mr. Crouse does not harp on the insights that were being gathered and reported by such zombies.

## Interest

Throughout this bleak narrative, the reader is left in no doubt what reporters go through to merriment. Mr. Crouse gives a first hint by discussing what he terms the "low-grade hysteria" of campaign reporting:

"The problem is if you try to write every day, you get caught up in sheer exhaustion. It's as simple as that. You do it by rote, because that's all you've got—the energy for it. It's the lack of sleep, the keeping up with deadlines, the disorientation from all this flying around—your mind just goes blank after a while. When it comes time to write the story, all you can do is just kind of a level job of stumbling through the day's events."

Although he offers no prescription for the reader who wants more than a "stumbling through" of the candidate's position, Mr. Crouse is quite busy as a diagnostician. This is another of his chilling portraits:

"If you stayed away from the campaign for any period of time and then came on again, the first thing that struck you was the shocking physical deterioration of the press corps. During the summer, the reporters had looked fairly healthy. Now their skin was pasty and greenish, they had ugly dark pouches under their glazed eyes, and their bodies had become bloated with the regimen of nonstop drinking and five or six starchily airplane meals every day. Toward the end, they began to suffer from a flaccid combination of fatigue and anxiety. They were pasty and greenish, they had ugly dark pouches under their glazed eyes, and their bodies had become bloated with the regimen of nonstop drinking and five or six starchily airplane meals every day. Toward the end, they began to suffer from a flaccid combination of fatigue and anxiety. 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## BUSINESS

## Herald Tribune

Published with The New York Times and The Washington Post

PARIS, MONDAY, MAY 20, 1973

## FINANCE

**Eurobonds****Italians Offer Inflation Hedge of 10-Year Floating-Rate Notes**

By Carl Gewirtz

S. May 19 (UPI)—The swings in the dollar exchange rate, sparked by revised of an impending revaluation of the mark, added a new of nervousness to the al-

markets. Despite the anxieties be-

ing expressed by bankers about Europe about whether the strains, business com-

be done. The public Eurobond market, no easy matter since the al-

and still rising interest rates offer

the returns that cannot be

by the traditional fixed-

rate system some success in 1965-

67, interest rates were also

now being reintroduced

the six-month Eurobonds

interbank offered (LIBO)

at present, this is at 12

, which means investors

receive 12.75 percent (as-

of course) when the set

LIBO rate is still

percent).

Notes should be espe-

cially appealing to small investors

who like the risk—who want to have

protection against inflation than a

fixed bond or a savings

available to small investors

in the Eurobond market.

At the time of issue, the last

Association of Securities Dealers

speculative interest rates at which

securities could have been sold,

are not included in the market.

Notes supplied by NASD,

notes in Net

High Low Last Change

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**Observer****The Sources Family**

By Russell Baker

**WASHINGTON.** — To find out what is happening in the Watergate affair these days you have to go to a mysterious group of people who are never publicly identified except as "sources."

All are members of the infamous, tightly knit Sources family, which has territorialized government for the last four decades and now has tentacles reaching into the highest offices in the land.

The family founder, known to two generations of terrified bureaucrats as "Harry the Source," arrived in Washington on a cattle boat 40 years ago without a single piece of reliable information about who in the government was engaged in a swindle.

"In a town like this, where nobody ever tells the truth," young Harry told his bride, Usually Reliable Sources. "A man can make his mark just by telling people what the score really is."

Ten years later, Harry, the Source was feared throughout Washington almost as deeply as J. Edgar Hoover. At about that time he abandoned his old name — Harry the Source didn't command the respect he insisted moon-and-legal; took the new first name of "Unimpeachable."

Soon Unimpeachable Sources and his wife, Usually Reliable, were raising a big family. Among the older children were names destined to become household words before America ever heard of Spiro Agnew. They included the garrulous Highly Placed Sources, the treacherous and ruthless White House Sources and such shadowy younger brothers as Sources Close To The Investigation and Sources Familiar With The Documents, both of whom were scarred in early childhood because their parents put their last names first.

When Harry the Source died six months ago, his aging widow inherited the directorship of the family after a brief but devastating power struggle with her ambitious son, White House Sources.

"When I get through with you," the aging but fiery Usually Reliable said.

*"This project has done a great deal for our identity. We have worked hard at it and are reasonably proud of the end results. We think our products are good. We may have shown that Indians don't necessarily have to be on government welfare."*

**Salmon-Happy Europe Supplied By U.S. Indians**

By Jan Sjöby

**BRUSSELS (IHT).** — In a time beyond memory, the Lummi Indians began to fish the ocean on the tidal banks of the Puget Sound in the northwesternmost part of what is now Washington State.

About 100 years ago, the Great White Father in Washington, D.C., decided that they were to farm the soil.

In 1883, the Lummies reached a compromise: They would farm, all right, but they would farm the sea. With federal aid in the form of money and scientific-technical know-how, they developed in a few years what has been termed the most sophisticated aquaculture project in the world, turning out salmon, trout and oysters. A subspecies of freshwater salmon, able to breed in salt water, was developed.

This month the Lummies began exporting to salmon-happy Europe, using Antwerp as a center of distribution. An initial shipment of 2,000 pounds arrived in mid-May, to be sprinkled across the Continent. More is to come. The European distributor is the firm of Pierre Hottot & Co.

"I believe," said James H. Feldman, press attaché with the U.S. Embassy in Brussels, "that this is the first Indian-produced export to reach the Old World, not counting handicrafts."

Chief Sam Cagey of the Lummies was in Brussels to present his tribe and its products to Europeans. He told this tale:

The Salish-speaking Lummies, before the 1850s, the chief said, were one of the most prosperous tribes in the Puget Sound area.

They were fine shipbuilders, excellent navigators, master fishermen. They lived an arcadian life in well-built wooden houses and feasted on marine species that, at present, command minor fortunes in places like Paris and New York.

Old Usually Reliable has no comment. Insiders, who compete with the Sources for control of the public-information flow—says the old woman is not above threatening to dump everything if all the Sources have on both the White House and Congress rather than see her boys put permanently out of work. That threat would do the trick, according to Highly Qualified Police Sources.



Chief Sam Cagey, at home in Washington, flashes sign of success.

salmon runs. The Lummies were reduced to odd jobs, government dole and poverty. Writer Vine Deloria Jr. notes in a communication to the Smithsonian Institution that "government agencies were advised to avoid them at all costs."

The Lummies decided to face the sea once more. They did not have green thumbs.

The decision was a wise one. With government earthing, Lummi labor built a three-mile earthen dike around 750 acres of rich Pacific tidelands. According to initial calculations, about 50 feet a day could be built. The Lummies, their imaginations fired by the idea, built 100 feet of dike a day. The result was a controlled breeding pool for salmon, trout and oysters, eventually expected to yield an annual 2,500 tons of gourmet seafood.

Aquaculture requires a great deal of know-how. A number of young Lummies went off to colleges and universities.

"Ten years ago," Chief Cagey said, "only three members of our 1,000-member tribe had any semblance of higher education. Now that figure is 65. Ten years ago we were a poor, underdeveloped Indian nation. Now our annual per capita earnings are up to those of the average for Washington State."

The Lummi salmon is small, measuring about 12 inches. The flesh is firm, light pink.

When asked if the Lummi salmon is regular salmon, *Salmo salar*, the chief replied: "I don't speak much Latin. It's like in Salish Lummi, yearling silver salmon in Washington State English."

The fish are delivered frozen in plastic bags. The chief was asked for a recipe:

"Very simple," Chief Cagey said, "we skewer it on a wooden spit and barbecue it over charcoal."

The Lummi salmon is also fine oven-baked in aluminum foil or boiled with vinegar, a few bay leaves and a lot of dill."

"Let the French have a try at it," mumbled Mr. Feldman. "They are bound to come up with any number of recipes."

Chief Cagey was somewhat cagey about the prospect for European consumption of Lummi oysters and Lummi trout. His answer, in accented English, sounded like "wait and see." If the other Lummi seafood products are as tasty as the Lummi salmon, it would be worth the wait.

Now that's nostalgia. Ted Williams, Sam, Fats Domino causing a riot in Pittsburgh, Mass., in 1956—they're nostalgia. Maria Montez expiring in a bubble bath—she's nostalgia. Duke Ellington and Jelire doing "Heartbreak Hotel," and John Foster Dulles.

A sure sign of age is that current nostalgia seems to incorporate those things that untredeyed S. Justice forgot to notice yesterday: people sighing for the days when Henry Aaron had only 713 home runs.

Still, one man's meat is another man's poison, so the first Instant Nostalgia Competition is herewith declared open, entries to consist of the piece of nostalgia closest to the date of this newspaper. Neatness does not count, but sincerity certainly does. Responses cannot necessarily be acknowledged, printed or otherwise rewarded, and residents of Indiana are not eligible. (Remember Indiana? Sigh.)

More about recluses: Whidbey known to the Associated Press, at least, as the of the Everglades, says the id swamps aren't what they used to be. "It's getting too here," he said in the first interview granted by a h

"The people are beginnig to drive me crazy."

He moved into the swar

**INKA DINKA DOO And Other Pleasures**

As Jimmy Durante used to say, you've gotta start off each day with a song. So:

*"On a summer's day  
In the month of May  
A burly bum came hiking  
Down a shady lane  
Through the sugar cane  
He was looking for his living.  
As he walked along  
He sang this song  
Of the land of milk and honey,  
Where a bum can stay  
For many a day  
And he don't need any money."*

**CHORUS**

*"Oh, the buzzing of the bees  
In the cigarette trees.  
Near the soda water fountain,  
At the lemonade spring  
Where the bluebirds sing  
Near the big rock candy mountain."*

\*\*\*

Nostalgia Dept.: Where is Jimmy Durante today? Still alive and well in California, at last reports. Who else remembers those sweet days when he ended his radio programs with "Good night, Mrs. Calabash, whenever you are?" Those innocent days when nobody had an idea what a calabash was, let alone a Mrs. Calabash.

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"The people are beginnig to drive me crazy."

He moved into the swar

years ago, built a clap shack in a 12-acre grove of c

trees and settled down to his garden, one of rare and flowers. Now, he says, many tourists are visiting retreat and some are evening the flowers. Worse, he have struck twice this s

What do burglars steal fr

him? His air rifle, a other valuables.

Whidbey intends to move

into the swamp after sellin

12 acres and rare plants,

though, he plans to take a

tion, presumably in some uncrowded place.

—SAMUEL JUS

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**PARIS: SINGLES PARTY, May 28, 1974, 10-12, after 7 p.m., to reserve**

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